WRL News

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The June Disarmament Blockades

Early on Monday morning, June 14, hundreds of demonstrators will be converging—simultaneously—on the United Nations Missions of the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France, and Britain. The demonstrators will be attempting to blockade the entrances of these nuclear powers in an effort to disrupt "diplomacy as usual."

This five-pronged civil disobedience action will be the most dramatic part of the schedule of protest and educational activities during the Special Session on Disarmament (SSD). Other events include a massive march and rally on June 12, and a religious convocation on June 11.

Why Civil Disobedience and Why Now?

Many of those going to the rally on June 12 do not understand why civil disobedience is being organized during a disarmament conference. More conservative elements among those organizing for the rally have sought to isolate the civil disobedience from all other activities. In fact, one representative who has been organizing for the rally went so far as to say that her organization would participate in the rally only on the condition of "no CP and no CD."

This type of opposition is not surprising, since it seems that whenever a civil disobedience action is planned, many "responsible" voices are heard to counsel against it. Dave Dellinger recently wrote that Martin Luther King, Jr., once commented to him that everytime he planned a civil disobedience action, he was besieged by people who said: "We support you and your cause, but this is not the time for civil disobedience. it will be misunderstood. It will cause a backlash." King went on to say that on occasion he had been misled by this plea, but whenever he laid aside his doubts and engaged in nonviolent direct action, he found that the action raised both the level and seriousness of public debate and forced new people to go beyond mere verbal piety to genuine commitment.

The civil disobedience blockades being organized for June 14 will not be against either the SSD or the UN. They are being aimed at the five nuclear powers who continue to verbalize peace while arming for nuclear war. Blockade participants will be using their bodies to make a dramatic statement that *talk is not enough*. These countries will never disarm unless they are forced to do so by citizens who are not content to sit idly by. As Martin Luther King said in his letter from Birmingham Jail: "Nonviolent direct action seeks to create a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored."

Rather than causing any harm to the SSD, the blockades will strengthen the hand of delegates within the UN who truly want disarmament. The civil disobedience at the U.S. Mission during the first SSD in 1978 succeeded in calling attention to the existence of that Session, which Carter basically sought to ignore by his well-publicized trip to a NATO meeting. In fact, that Sit-in resulted in greater publicity through the media than was achieved by the rally two weeks earlier, which had 40 times as many people.

The policies of the Reagan Administration have helped to develop even broader support for the June 14th blockades than was possible for the Sit-in for Survival four years ago. This support is also due to the strength and sharpness of the politics of the civil disobedience which calls on *all* countries to begin to disarm unilaterally, to

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DEMONSTRATE FOR DISARMAMENT!

during the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament

June 12

International march and rally for a freeze and reduction of nuclear arms and the transfer of funds from the military to human needs. Assemble near the U.N., march to Central Park for afternoon rally (speakers and entertainment to be announced). For info: June 12 Rally Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 2109, New York, NY 10003 (212) 460-8980. For information on where and when the WRL Contingent will be meeting, contact the WRL office at 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 228-0450.

June 14

Blockade the Bombmakers: nonviolent civil disobedience at the U.S., Soviet, French, British and Chinese missions to demand that they disarm unilaterally, and to demand an end to nuclear weapons and power, redirection of funds from the military to meet human needs, and an end to military intervention. Nonviolence training required. Contact the CD Campaign, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 777-4737.

Many other events are planned in New York and throughout the country during the five weeks of the Special Session. See page 4 for a full calendar of events.

The Middle East—After April 25

by Joseph Gerson

In December I joined Allan Solomonow and two other friends on a "fact finding tour" in Israel, the Occupied Territories, Lebanon and Egypt. The Israeli elections, the assassination of President Sadat and the aborted Arab summit in Fez had each had a major impact on the prospects for peace in the region. With the scheduled April 25 Israeli evacuation of Sinai fast approaching, it seemed an important time to take a firsthand reading of the situation.

Allan has cajoled me into writing this brief article about what can be expected after April 25, a date which portends a point of demarcation in the Middle East. I am convinced that Allan knows as well as I do that nothing definitive can be written about the post April 25 period. I suspect he thought it would be best for me to err publicly, and in black and white no less, than for him to do so.

Having thus dispatched hubris and credentials, let me address the questions that I have most frequently faced since my return—even if I cannot be certain that Israeli and Egyptian diplomats will be able to resolve the last wrinkles in fixing an Israeli-Egyptian border, or whether General Sharon's phalanxes and tanks will invade Lebanon before or after April 25.

Since the assassination of Anwar Sadat the deepest American fears for stability, if not justice, in the Middle East have been focused on questions of transition and stability in Egypt. Who is Mubarak? Is he committed to peace with Israel? Won't he lead Egypt back into the Arab fold after April 25?

We found surprising agreement among the government spokesmen, opposition leaders and activists, and academic observers with whom we met. In the words of one Egyptian, Sadat's death "could not have been more timely." Continuity required change. Sadat, with his excessive rhetoric and repression, his identification in the public mind with Israel's bombing of Baghdad and Beirut, and his corrupt court, had painted himself into a corner. The assassin's bullet, while not triggering revolution, allowed for change and continuity. A new face could pursue the peace with Israel and secure the reign of a bourgois and Western oriented class of Egyptians.

Mubarak will continue the peace with Israel because it is in the interest of Egypt to do so. Peace with Israel provides an opportunity to address Egypt's most pressing and potentially most disruptive problem: the economy. Egypt is a desperately poor country. While Egyptians continue to identify with, and advocate, the Palestinians' right to self-determination, they—like other Arab nations—are not about to risk their fragile economic infrastructure and limited material resources to obtain it.

A priority for Mubarak will, of course, be to normalize Egypt's relations with other Arab countries. This will be done as ties with Israel chill, but do not break, and in the context of maintaining deep military and economic ties with the United States.

It is unlikely though that Mubarak would risk his reign to maintain an embrace with Begin while West Bank and Gaza Strip Bantustans are created. Former Egyptian foreign minister Ismail Fahmy was quite clear, "if there is no progress on the Palestinian question within the next ten years, the geopolitics of the region will have changed, and Egypt will not be able to continue peace with Israel." In the shorter term, should an Israeli invasion of Lebanon degenerate into a wider Israeli-Arab war, Mubarak might be forced to intervene rather than face the wrath of the Egyptian people.

The December annexation of the Golan Heights, the deepening repression on the West Bank, and Israel's provocative actions in southern Lebanon indicate that the Israeli government has become the most volatile factor in the Middle East peace/war equation. After April 25 will Israel measure the international balance of power, or the immobilization of the Reagan administration, as sufficient to launch a massive invasion of Lebanon? No one can say with certainty.

What can be said is that after April 25, just as before, Israeli efforts to integrate and eventually formally annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip into a Greater Israel will continue apace with all the human pain and anguish they bring. Prime Minister Begin, General Sharon and Professor Milson—or their successors—will continue to try to smash the influence of the PLO in the Occupied Territories and to replace it with that of more maleable Quislings. Like the French in Algeria and the Americans in Vietnam, these efforts to pacify a colonized people and to impose a civilian administration will breed greater resistance, more bloodshed, and a longer war.

Will the Labor Party or a peace movement rise to challenge the Begin government? Labor has become a "me too" party differing with the ruling Likud bloc only in its fear of alienating *The American Sponsor* and in its willingness to return a tiny portion of the West Bank to Jordan, something neither Jordan nor the Palestinians will accept. Labor has no alternative vision with which to challenge Likkud and to reflect the humanist hopes of the first Zionist settlers. New waves of settler and state brutality, like those in March, might rekindle the Israeli peace movement, but for the moment only a small part of that movement understand the necessity of Israeli negotiations with the PLO and are committed to the Palestinians' right to self-determination alongside Israel.

The post April 25 prognosis is thus grim and offers little optimism. If war in Lebanon is avoided, Orwellian "peace" will briefly reign. "Peace" being conquest and resistance in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The governments of Western Europe and the Arab world may well bring forward peace initiatives based on the Venice Declaration and the Fahd Plan, but the critical question will remain, what will Israel's *Chief Benefactor* do? Despite rampant inflation, U.S. aid to Israel has helped create something akin to prosperity. Last year the real increase in Israeli per capita income was 15%. Despite the Baghdad and Beirut bombings. Despite the new settlements on the West Bank. Despite the attacks on Lebanon. The Likkud leadership is confident that despite occasional noise from Washington the "special relationship" with the U.S. will endure.

Just as his predecessors of the Vietnam era sought to avoid "losing" Vietnam before the end of their terms, President Reagan can be expected to continue to temporize in the Middle East. His hope is that either Israel will crush the Palestinians or that a future generation will inherit the Middle East whirlwind. Congress, though no longer unquestioningly supportive of Israel, is unlikely to move until its more influential leaders understand that the Middle East, and thus the world, is standing on a genocidal and nuclear precipice.

The important question is what will you and the American peace movement do after April 25?

Joe Gerson is a member of the WRL who has worked on Middle East issues over a number of years.

New Book Available from WRL

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WRL Leafletters Acquitted in IRS Case

by Ed Hedemann

Leafletting inside the IRS in New York City, April 15, 1982.
Photo by Karl Bissinger.

In a remarkable "battle" which lasted eight years, NYC WRL leafletters established the right to leaflet *inside* the waiting areas of the Manhattan IRS taxpayer assistance rooms.

Decisions in Federal and New York State courts a week apart in late March, acquitted seven people (representing themselves, without lawyers) of "leafletting without a permit" and "trespass" charges. The court cases stemmed from a week of arrests inside the IRS leading up to April 15 last year.

The history of this development began on "Tax Day" in 1974. That year, in addition to the usual yearly activities at the Manhattan IRS (e.g., leafletting and picketting outside), three or four demonstrators went into the IRS, set up a literature table, began passing out flyers, and counseled people to resist taxes. Though threatened with arrest, the day ended without incident.

Every subsequent Tax Day through 1978, WRL leafletters went into IRS to pass out literature. They were threatened with arrest, but no arrests occurred. Then in 1979, plans for leafletting inside expanded to a whole week, complete with literature table. The IRS called in the NYC police on one of the days and four WRLers were arrested. Charges were later dropped.

In 1980 leafletting inside the IRS was again limited just to Tax Day, and two were arrested by NYC police (*WRL News*, May/June 1980). In 1981, a whole week of leafletting inside the IRS resulted in 28 arrests. The first day NYC police were called in to haul off people, but after that Federal police did the arresting (see *WRL News*, May/June 1981).

Lawyers working with the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) volunteered to handle pre-trial motions and defend a few of those arrested. In the process, CCR developed a well-researched 20-page brief on the unconstitutionality of the IRS forbidding WRL from leafletting inside the IRS.

In the midst of hearings on these pre-trial motions, the U.S. Attorney's office decided to add a new charge, "leafletting," to the original one of "disturbances" for the Federal cases (in the City/State cases, the charge was "trespassing"). As a result the CCR motion was withdrawn and the first trial was scheduled for November. Though it lasted only two days, the decision came in January: acquittal on the "disturbances" charge and conviction on the "leafletting" charge. While ruling that the waiting areas of the taxpayer assistance rooms were "public," the judge held that the defendants were leafletting without a permit.

At the second Federal trial (which took a full day in January), the U.S. Attorney dropped the "disturbances" charge and proceeded with the "leafletting" charge. After that trial and before the decision (two months later), charges against those who were to have been in the third and final Federal trial were dropped by the prosecution due to "lack of time." Charges against those who had accepted a "deferred prosecution" offer by the Government were also dropped.

What remained was the City/State trial, which was held in February. Though the trial lasted two days, it wasn't decided until April 1, just a week after the decision was rendered in the second Federal trial—both acquittals.

The two judges acquitted the defendants on the basis of the following points: 1) the leafletters did not physically obstruct IRS operations, 2) the waiting areas of the IRS taxpayer assistance rooms are *public*, 3) the lobby (where leafletting *was* permitted) does not present a reasonable opportunity to talk with taxpayers, 4) because of IRS employees as well as taxpayers rushing back and forth, the lobby was more congested than the waiting areas, and 5) the right to leaflet in such waiting areas is Constitutionally permitted and cannot be blanketly prohibited.

There were two basic reasons why we sought to establish ourselves within the IRS aroun il 15. First, we are better able to reach out to and talk with taxpayers waiting for "assistance" inside the IRS, than when they rush by outside. Second, we wanted to create as much of a contrast as possible with our "alternative tax information and counseling" table—in the heart of the tax collection arm of the war machine. Furthermore, our presence *inside* the IRS on April 15 increases the possibility of media coverage.

We encourage all local organizers to try leafletting inside their local IRS office. If you wish to get copies of the two decisions as well as the CCR brief, send $4 to WRL for "IRS Leafletting Case Decisions." These won't necessarily prevent your arrest or win an acquittal, but they may help.

Ed Hedemann is a WRL National staff member.

WRL Statement of Purpose

The War Resisters League affirms that war is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive nonviolently for the removal of all the causes of war.

I support this statement and wish to enroll as a member of the War Resisters League.

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip ____

send to
War Resisters League
339 Lafayette Street
New York, NY 10012

CALENDAR OF EVENTS
during the Special Session on Disarmament

In New York City...

MAY 15—Disarmament Information Bureau. Sponsored by NGO Committee on Disarmament; (212) 697-2708.

MAY 15-JUNE 15—Tree of Life. Exhibit of drawings about peace by children from 80 countries. United Nations.

MAY 26—Poetry Reading. Town Hall, 123 W. 43 St. Sponsor: Cultural Task Force, 853 Broadway, Rm. 2109, New York, NY 10003; (212) 460-8980.

MAY 28—Rally for Disarmament. Coincides with arrival of Women's Caravan from California. Info: Helene Aylon, 13 Columbus, San Francisco, CA 94411; (415) 665-2396.

JUNE 2-4—Women of the World in Action for Peace. International meeting to discuss concerns of women and to formulate women's demands for peace. Sponsor: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19109; (215) 563-7110.

JUNE 3-4—UN Parliamentary Forum. ECOSOC Chamber, UN. Sponsor: Parliamentarians for World Order, 336 E. 45 St., New York NY 10017; (212) 654-5126.

JUNE 4-5—International Symposium on the Morality and Legality of Nuclear Weapons. Sponsors: Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Weapons and the International Peace Bureau. Info: International Liaison Office, 490 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10027; (212) 749-3810.

JUNE 5—Poetry Reading. St. Mark's Project. Info: Cultural Task Force (see May 26.)

JUNE 5-7—Theater for the New City presents a series of disarmament plays. 162 W. 2nd Ave. Info: (212) 254-1109.

JUNE 6—Children's Rally for a Nuclear Freeze. UN Plaza. Sponsor: NY STOP, 515 South Rd., Poughkeepsie, NY 12601; (914) 462-4201.

JUNE 6—Bread and Puppet Pageant and the International Orchestra and Choruses. Pageant and puppet show to the last movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. St. Patrick's Cathedral 460 Madison Ave. Also June 13 (tentative) in Central Park. Info: Symphony for the UN, 40 W. 67 St., New York, NY 10023; (212) 873-2872.

JUNE 7—World Peace March arrives. Welcome rally and all day vigil at UN. Info: International Liaison Office (see June 4-5).

JUNE 7- JULY 9—Plowshare II. Coffee house and discussion center. 777 UN Plaza. Open weekdays, 10 am- 7 pm with occasional evening events. Sponsor: FOR, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960; (914) 358-4601.

JUNE 8-10—Reverence for Life: An International Religious Conference. Info: Reverence for Life Steering Committee, 45 E. 78 St., New York, NY; (212) 858-6882.

JUNE 8-10—International Conference/ Setting the Agenda. For activists and delegates from around the world. Sponsor: ICDP, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012; (212) 228-0450.

JUNE 8-10—Briefings Organized by Japanese NGOs. Info: International Liaison Office (see June 4-5).

JUNE 9-11—Hope Against Hope: A Seminar on Disarmament. Sponsor: United Methodist Seminar on National and International Affairs; (212) 682-3633.

JUNE 10 (tentative)—Witness for Survival. Info: Religious Task Force/MFS, 85 S. Oxford St., Brooklyn, NY 11217; (212) 858-6882.

JUNE 10-JULY 11—People's Assembly for the UN. A series of forums on Tuesday and Thursday evenings (7-9:30 pm) and Sundays (2-5 pm). Info: Dr. Harry Lerner, 51 E. 90 St., New York, NY 10028; (212) 289-3353.

JUNE 11—International Religious Convocation. Cathedral of St. John, 112 St. and Amsterdam Ave. Noon. Followed by march to Central Park and all night vigil at UN. Sponsor: Religious Task Force (see June 10)

JUNE 12—RALLY AND MARCH FOR DISARMAMENT (see front cover for info).

JUNE 13—Nonviolence Training Sessions for participants in civil disobedience action who haven't already received training. Sponsor: June 14 CD Campaign, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 777-4737.

JUNE 13—Draft Resistance Gathering (tentative). Info: Matt Meyer, 40 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn, NY 11218; (212) 871-7441.

JUNE 13—International Open Air Gathering. Info: International Liaison Office (see June 4-5).

JUNE 14—BLOCKADE THE BOMBMAKERS (see front cover for info).

JUNE 18, 25 and JULY 2, 9—Vigils at US and USSR Missions in support of nuclear weapons freeze. Info: AFSC, 15 Rutherford Pl., New York, NY 10003.

JUNE 24-JULY 9—Training Program for Organizers, in Massachusetts and New York. Sponsored by WRL, 339, Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012; (212) 228-0450.

JUNE 25 or 26—Conference on youth and disarmament. Sponsor: UN NGO Committee on Youth, 777 UN Plaza, Rm. 1, New York, NY 10017; (212) 697-4838.

National and International...

MAY 10-JUNE 7—Nationwide Fast for Disarmament. Monday of each week. Info: Ecumenical Peace Institute, PO Box 9334, Berkeley, CA 94709 (415) 391-5215.

JUNE 28-31—Int'l Choose Life Week and Peace Sabbath. Info: Religious Task Force/ MFS, 85 S. Oxford St., Brooklyn, NY 11217; (212) 858-6882.

JUNE 6, LONDON—National Demonstration on the day before Reagan's arrival. Sponsor: Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 11 Goodwin St., London N4, England; 01-262-4954.

JUNE 6, LONDON—Greenham Common to Comiso Peace Caravan. Travelling between British and Italian cruise missile sites. Leaves following London rally. Info: John Moreland, Higher Trevarthen, Sancreed, Penzance, Cornwall, England.

Around the Country...

LOS ANGELES

JUNE 6—Peace Sunday, Rose Bowl, Pasadena, California. Info: Alliance for Survival, 1503 N. Hobard Blvd., LA, CA 90027; (213) 462-6243.

SAN FRANCISCO

JUNE 12—March and Rally for Disarmament. Gathering place to be announced; rally at noon in Civic Center Plaza. Sponsor: June 12 Coalition, 1187 Franklin, San Francisco, CA 94109; (415) 441-5014.

JUNE 18-20—Berkeley Resistance Conference. Will also be forming affinity groups for June 21 Livermore action. Sponsor: Berkely Resistance, 2053 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, CA 94704; (415) 549-1719.

JUNE 21—Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Action at Livermore Labs. Sponsored by Livermore Action Group; (415) 644-2028.

WASHINGTON/BRITISH COLUMBIA

JUNE 12—Demonstration at Peace Bridge. Info: Coalition for World Disarmament, 1414 W. 12 Ave., Vancouver, BC V6H1M8; Canada; (604) 731-9018.

In many areas of the country coalitions have formed to sponsor activities leading up to the Special Session and to organize transportation to New York City. The following is a listing of groups that was available as we went to press. If your area isn't listed, please contact the WRL Local nearest you or your local peace group for information.

ARIZONA—Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 5516 E. Rosewood, Tucson, AZ 17102; (602) 745-2172.
BALTIMORE—AFSC, 317 East 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218; (301) 366-7200.
BOSTON—Greater Boston June 12 Campaign, 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140; (617) 661-6130.
CHICAGO—Walk for Peace Coalition, 407 S. Dearborn, Rm. 370, Chicago, IL 60605; (312) 427-2553.
DELAWARE—Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 749 Plumtree Lane, Claymont, DE 19703; (215) 358-3564.
MASSACHUSETTS—Traprock Peace Center, Keets Rd., Deerfield, MA 01342; (413) 773-7427.
MINNESOTA—People for Survival, 3814 Irving Ave. So., Minneapolis, MN 55408; (612) 870-1501.
MILWAUKEE—Mobilization for Survival, 1016 No. 9 St., Milwaukee, WI 55233; (414) 272-0961.
NEW YORK STATE
Albany—Capital District Coalition for the UNSSD2, 692 State St., Albany, NY 12203; (518) 465-5104.
Westchester—WESPAC, 225 Grove St., Box 488, White Plains, NY 10602; (914) 682-1488.
NORTH CAROLINA—WRL/SE, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Chapel Hill NC 27701; (919) 682-6374.
PITTSBURGH—Thomas Merton Center, 111 E. Carson St., Pittsburgh, PA 15203; (412) 381-1400.
SAN FRANCISCO—WRL/West, 85 Carl St., San Francisco, CA 94117; (415) 731-1220.
TEXAS—War Resisters League, 2710 Woodmore, Dallas, TX 75233; (214) 337-5885.
VERMONT—Burlington Peace Coalition, 403 College St., Burlington, VT; (802) 863-9793.
WASHINGTON, DC—DC Peace Center, 2111 Florida Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20008; (202) 234-2000.
WISCONSIN—Nukewatch, 315 W. Gorham, Madison, WI 53703; (608) 256-4246.

War Resisters International
TRIENNIAL
July 26-30, 1982
Spoleto, Italy
For information, write to WRI, 55 Dawes St., London, England SE171EL.

Imagining and Creating Nonviolent Alternatives

by Beverly Woodward

The peace movement, like other movements for change, has often been more adept at indicating what it opposes than at making clear what it proposes. This is understandable, since what we oppose is generally concretely before us, there to remind us every day about what we dislike in the status quo. Thus beneficial social change is often seen as the mere absence of present evils. Most social institutions, however, serve some functions (even if they do not perform their functions especially well) and their elimination requires putting alternative institutions and behaviors in their places.

When we oppose war *in general* or the posession of arms *in general* (rather than just some particular war or some particular kind of arms) we face the challenge of replacing a deeply rooted and pervasive social institution, namely the war system, with alternative institutions and practices. In short, we face the challenge of creating nonviolent alternatives with respect to: external policy (what some call foreign policy); defense and the conduct of conflict; and the social and economic relations which underlie the war system.

The International Seminars on Training for Nonviolent Action (ISTNA), an associate member of War Resisters International, has in the past year made "nonviolent alternatives" one of the main themes of its work. We think that this theme is especially important at a time when there is renewed interest in disarmament. Many of those who favor a freeze on nuclear arms (a real freeze, not the travesty that Warner and Jackson have proposed) or cuts in the arms budget say that they see these as first steps and hope eventually for more drastic disarmament or even general and complete disarmament. Some of us in the nonviolent movement believe, however, that serious measures of disarmament are not likely to take place until the public begins to have a better understanding of the possible nonviolent alternatives to the present reliance on lethal arms.

In pursuing this concern ISTNA held last year at Harvard University a two-day symposium entitled "Towards a Nonviolent Foreign Policy." The symposium considered both the techniques of nonviolent diplomacy, e.g., Roger Fisher's approach to negotiation, and the substance of a nonviolent foreign policy, that is, what U.S. goals would be in various regions of the world if we were truly interested in trying to create a nonviolent world order. (Robert Johansen of the Institute for World Order was one of the main speakers on this theme.)

The symposium was followed by a conference on "Nonviolent Defense and Nonviolent Peacemaking" held at Traprock Peace Center in western Massachusetts. Here a group of disarmament activists analyzed the objectives of current U.S. security policy and considered how these objectives would need to be modified if the means of pursuing security were nonviolent. We considered U.S. relations with its allies, with the U.S.S.R., and with the "Third World." Nonviolent defense, or civilian-based defense, as Gene Sharp calls it, is clearly of more direct relevance to U.S. allies than to the U.S. per se, since the likelihood of an invasion of the U.S. is quite small. Virtually all active employment of the U.S. military has been outside U.S. borders. The rationale for U.S. military intervention is undermined, however, if one can show that there are nonviolent means by which other countries can defend themselves, deal with conflict, and pursue legitimate political objectives.

This year ISTNA has three activities on its agenda to help promote further thinking and action in the field of nonviolent alternatives. These are: (1) another conference on "Nonviolent Defense and Nonviolent Peacemaking," to be held this time at Packard Manse in Stoughton, Massachusetts (just south of Boston), June 25-27. Inquiries by persons interested in participating are welcome. (Write ISTNA, Box 515, Waltham, MA 02254. Tel: 617, 891-0814.) (2) a discussion of an alternative nonviolent security policy for North America, to be held as part of the international activists conference scheduled for early June in connection with the 2nd SSD in New York. (3) the publication of a study guide for a two-month "macroanalysis" course on the theme "U.S. Defense Policy: Mainstream Views and Nonviolent Alternatives." The guide is an organize-it-yourself manual for study groups interested in this topic. It will contain lists of suggested readings, notes and commentary, and reproductions of readings that are hard to obtain. The guide is being prepared by Bob Irwin (currently an assistant to Gene Sharp) and me. We hope to publish it by early June. (For further information write to ISTNA at the address noted above.) We hope that WRL locals as well as other grass roots peace action groups will set up study groups that will use the guide.

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Beverly Woodward is the Director of the International Seminars on Training for Nonviolent Action.

International El Salvador Conference

by Grace Hedemann

As tens of thousands marched in Washington, D.C., against U.S. involvement in El Salvador, a little publicized international conference was being held in Mexico City. The purpose of this meeting was to develop a world-wide strategy to support the FMLN/FDR in El Salvador. Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front/Democratic Revolutionary Front (FMLN/FDR) are the united military, and democratic organizations (composed of political parties, unions, professional associations and popular mass organizations).

The International Forum for Solidarity with the People of El Salvador held on March 26-28 in Mexico City was organized by the Mexico Solidarity Committee and the Permanent National Forum of Mexico. The International Forum, although agreed upon in October, 1981, was rushed on the international level as far as invitations and conference information. However, participants attended from 25 countries including Spain, France, Germany, Netherlands, Canada, Vietnam, United States and of course, Central and South America, among others. Approximately 250 representatives met during the working sessions and over 500 attended the Rally on Friday night. The Mexican government provided the meeting and housing facilities during the weekend, but did not officially sponsor the event. There certainly would have been greater participation from the United States if the Forum had not been held on the same weekend as the March 27th Coalition demonstration in Washington, D.C. or commemorative events for Archbishop Oscar Romero.

The three-day meeting began with a Rally at a large auditorium in downtown Mexico City, continued with working meetings over the weekend at the National Anthropology School, and ended with a beautiful evening of music. The tightly organized Forum operated by simple majority vote and consensus, but a slightly different kind of consensus than the United States anti-nuclear movement. The Mexican style included procedures agreed upon by the Plenary at the beginning of the meeting. These procedures included voting cards only for registered organizations, time limits for speakers, written documents circulated at the beginning of the meeting as the only subject of discussion, and no blocking permitted which meant no single organization could prevent the Plenary from moving ahead with an agreed upon action. There was English and French simultaneous translations.

The end result was a "World Front for Solidarity with El Salvador," a plan for solidarity action, a political declaration, and a refugee support plan. An eighteen-member "Permanent Bureau" was elected to make the plan of action and the newly-formed organization a reality. Dr. Bill Zimmerman from the U.S. Medical Aid for El Salvador was selected as President of the "Bureau." Zimmerman, a psychologist, who worked with the Indochina Peace Campaign, Bach Mai Campaign and coordinated Tom Hayden's Senatorial media campaign, is currently coordinating the California Freeze media campaign and is President of Medical Aid for El Salvador. The idea behind this World Front is to coordinate solidarity work on El Salvador with a united political strategy, and demonstration dates.

Whether the World Front will become a political reality in the United States remains to be seen. War Resisters League was one of the few pacifist organizations that attended the International Forum. Partly this was an organizational problem, but it also appears to have been a political decision by the Forum organizers. The World Front selected as its symbol a rifle among outstretched hands and an undefined face. Yet, over and over again during informal conversations, Salvadoreans encouraged North American participants to build a broad-based movement that would work for non-intervention and a negotiated settlement.

The killing continues. The recent elections served to confuse rather than resolve the political situation. The United States continues to send military and economic aid. Random killings continue by the death squads.

So, how do we in the United States build an effective opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador and the rest of Central Amercia? In the months to come, national peace, religious, humanitarian, and other organizations will search for a better way to build a national non-intervention movement than was reflected at March 27th demonstration in Washington, D.C. In the meantime, refugee and medical aid is needed desparately. Among the organizations that can channel assistance are Oxfam America, Church World Service and the AFSC Central America Assistance Fund.

AFSC Central America Assistance Fund
American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102
215/241-7165

Oxfam America
115 Broadway
Boston, MA 02116
617/482-1211

Church World Service
475 Riverside Drive #622
New York, NY 10115
212/870-2461

Grace Hedemann is a WRL National staffmember.

Andreas Fabrago, conference organizer, chairs a session during the International Forum for Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Other Chairs during the weekend included Heidi Tarver from CISPES and Dr. Bill Zimmerman from Medical Aid for El Salvador.
Photo by Grace Hedemann

WRL NEWS

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WRL is the U.S. branch of the War Resisters' International, a pacifist organization with affiliates in 18 countries.

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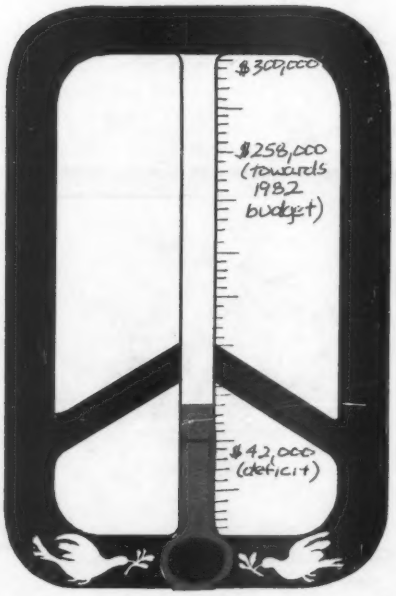
WRL News (from 1967 on) is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

PEACE-OMETER

So far in 1982 the War Resisters League has raised $50,000 towards our goal of $300,000. We thank all of you who have contributed so far this year and hope that all of our members will contribute as generously as possible in the coming months.



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WRL West, 85 Carl St., San Francisco, CA 94117 (415-731-1220).

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Mobile WRL, P.O. Box 6414, Mobile, AL 36606.

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Southern California WRL, P.O. Box 928, Arleta,CA 91331 (213-469-4207).

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FLORIDA
Central Florida WRL, P.O. Box 6208, Orlando, FL 32853 (305-896-0703).

GEORGIA
Atlanta WRL, 1225 Cameron Court N.E., Atlanta, GA 30306 (404-378-3237).

HAWAII
Hawaii WRL/catholic Action, 1918 University Ave., Honolulu, HI 96822 (808-949-1210)

IDAHO
Pocatello WRL, 603 South 10th St., Pocatello, ID 83201 (208-233-4541).

ILLINOIS
Oak Park WRL, 645 North Taylor, Oak Park, IL 60302 (312-386-0192).

INDIANA
Evansville WRL, c/o Clark Field, 420 S.E. 2nd St., #B, Evansville, IN 47713.
Muncie/Ball State WRL, P.O. Box 401, Student Center, Muncie, IN 47306 (317-289-6710).
Citizens For Peace & Social Justice/WRL, 611 W. Wayne, Ft. Wayne, IN 46802 (219-422-6821).

MICHIGAN
Detroit WRL, 1542 W. Alexandrine, Detroit, MI 48208 (313-833-3197).

MISSOURI
Columbia WRL, 509 Clinkscales Rd., Columbia, MO 65201 (314-445-4348).
Ozarks Area WRL, 626 E. Normal, Springfield, MO 65807 (417-864-4078).
St. Louis WRL, 962 Warder, St. Louis, MO 63130 (314-726-4662).

NEW JERSEY
Monmouth County WRL, P.O. Box 131, Fair Haven, NJ 07701 (201-747-0566; 842-6539).
New Brunswick WRL, P.O. Box 1895, New Brunswick, NJ 08903 (201-846-5843).

NEW MEXICO
Albuquerque WRL, 5021 Guadalupe Tr. NW, Albuquerque NM 87107 (505-344-1140).

NEW YORK
New York City WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012.
Rochester WRL, 713 Monroe Ave., Rochester, NY 14607 (716-244-7191).

NORTH CAROLINA
Triangle Area WRL, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701 (919-682-6374; 489-1553.

PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia WRL/WTR, 2208 South St., Philadelphia, PA 19146 (215-545-4626).
Pittsburgh WRL, 5406 Bartlett St., Pittsburgh, PA 15217 (412-422-0377).

TEXAS
Dallas WRL, 2701 Woodmere, Callas, TX 75233 (214-337-5885).

VERMONT
Lamoille Peace Coalition/WRL, P.O. Box 43, Johnson, VT 05656 (802-635-2618).

WEST VIRGINIA
Morgantown WRL, 912½ Monongalia Ave., Morgantown, WV 26505 (304-292-9678).

WISCONSIN
LaCrosse Area WRL, 614 So. 16th St., LaCrosse, WI 54601 (608-782-2136).

Disarmament Blockades

Continued from page 1

dismantle their nuclear reactors in order to stop proliferation, to shift money from the military to meet human needs, not to intervene in other countries, and to announce a significant step towards disarmament at the SSD.

Recognizing the tremendous potential of and need for these massive nonviolent blockades, the War Resisters League has committed itself to considerable staff time and money in order to ensure the success of June 14. Among the organizations who have endorsed or are currently organizing for this action are the SHAD Alliance, Friends Peace Committee, Mobilization for Survival, WESPAC, Catholic Peace Fellowship, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Clergy and Laity Concerned.

We encourage all WRL members to support, work for, and link both the June 12 rally and the June 14 blockades.

Nonviolent Alternatives

Continued from page 5

Finally, ISTNA is not alone in these concerns. At the end of April the Metro Omaha Peace Association is holding a two-day conference on transarmament (the shift from lethal arms to nonviolent arms is called transarmament by peace researchers). The Omaha group is considering establishing a national network of people interested in this topic. (For further information write M.O.P.A., 3636 Lafayette Ave., Omaha, Nebraska 68131.) An initiative with respect to peacemaking took place last summer at Grindstone Island in Canada where activists from four countries set up the Peace Brigades International, which intends to support and form international peace brigades. Such brigades "fashioned to respond to specific needs and appeals, will undertake nonpartisan missions which may include peacemaking initiatives, peacekeeping under a discipline of nonviolence, and humanitarian service." (For further information write Charles Walker, PBI, Box 92, Cheyney, PA 19319.) Other developments include: (1) a recommendation by a Dutch government commission that a $2 million research program on social defense (civilian-based defense) be undertaken; (2) studies on nonviolent defense to be published this year by the British Alternative Defence Commission, a nongovernmental commission exploring what defense options will be open to Great Britain if it gives up its nuclear arm ; (3) a Canadian campaign to persuade the Prime Minister to establish an Institute for Social Defence "to explore the possibilities of a civilian based defense strategy."

Nonviolent defense and nonviolent peacemaking are applicable not only at the level of the nation, but at every level of social organization. We can employ their methods to defend our own action groups in their struggles for social change and to deal with conflicts that arise among our groups. If we begin to do this in a systematic way, we shall begin to be able to imagine better how these methods can be employed by nations and regions and to devise strategies to achieve this.

"STOP" (World War III)

William King, one of America's best known sculptors, has donated his most recent work to the War Resisters League. The sculpture is a 10 foot high STOP sign with a 20 foot long hand jutting through the sign with the words "Stop the Third World War" on the hand. WRL will display the sculpture in Dag Hammarskjold Plaza across the street from the UN from May 1 until August 31.

King, whose works appear in the private collections of the Rockefeller family, John Hay Whitney, Joseph H. Hischhorn, the Robert Redfords, and many universities and museums, wrote to say that, "The sculpture is to show that a Third World War is possible, *and* that it is possible to stop it."

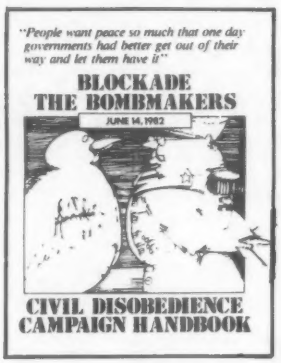
After August 31 the sculpture will be offered for sale and the proceeds will go to the disarmament program of the WRL.

This button was inspired by the William King sculpture. It's available from WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 for 50¢.

Resources Available for the June 14 Action

BUTTON
50¢

HANDBOOK
$1.00


"People want peace so much that one day governments had better get out of their way and let them have it"
BLOCKADE THE BOMBMAKERS
JUNE 14, 1982
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN HANDBOOK

Forty pages of information: Background on SSD II, Feminism, Racism Nonviolence, plus scenario for the action, maps and legal information.

☐ Please send _____ buttons

☐ Please send _____ handbooks

☐ Total Enclosed _____
(Please add 15% postage.)

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City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Return to:
War Resisters League
339 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012